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ABSTRACT

A study was conducted to measure the relative degrees of acculturative stress among groups of students at the Brigham Young University Hawaii Campus. Specific ethnic groups included in the study were American-Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, New Zealand-Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Fijian, Hawaiian, and Filipino. Data were collected from students at the school over a five year period. These students were administered psychological tests designed to measure adjustment, depression, self image, and group image. The research determined that acculturative stress was greater among cultural groups (students) where the gap between traditional and imposed (host) culture was significant. In addition, in a multicultural setting, acculturative stress also occurred between accommodating non-host cultures that differed greatly in cultural styles. Finally, it was shown that English language usage imposed the greatest discrimination barrier to all non-American cultures. Depression scores were inversely correlated to English language acquisition. This study yielded several approaches for minimizing acculturative stress on a multicultural campus. (Author/APM)

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ACCULTURATIVE STRESS AMONG ASIAN, AMERICAN AND POLYNESIAN STUDENTS ON THE BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY--HAWAII CAMPUS

BY

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ACCULTURATIVE STRESS AMONG ASIAN, AMERICAN AND POLYNESIAN STUDENTS. THE BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY--HAWAII CAMPUS

INTRODUCTION

Acculturation refers to those changes and adaptations in behavior that presumably occur in response to the sometimes competing forces that originate in two or more cultures impinging on an individual (Berry, J., Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1979). A widely accepted generalization about acculturation is that individuals exposed to a rapidly changing culture find that exposure psychologically disruptive. An education system may pose a schizophrenic-like existence of conflictual variables for the student being educated out-of-country. Is it correct to expect that cross-cultural contact in educational settings as a university campus produces significant acculturative stress for most cultural groups? Empirical research to determine cultural and individual variables that relate to acculturative stress, especially among peoples of the Pacific is clearly lacking in the literature.

The Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus with between 1700--1800 students from 33-35 cultures (Hawaiian Islands--25%, South Pacific--25%, Orient and Far East--15%, Mainland--USA--30%, and others--5%) represents one of the most multi-cultural settings in the United States.

It is on this insular campus setting that East, West, South, and Central interchange. This exceptional array of different cultural and ethnic groups is analogous to the simmering of a rich stew composed of, among other ingredients, potatoes, taro, tofu, luau pork, fish cake, with coconut milk, curry, soy sauce, and muster seasonings. With heat and time the soup becomes richer

through the integration of the ingredients in the pot. Some ingredients would absorb (accommodate) more than diffuse (assimilate) into the soup but all ingredients would sustain respective shapes and coloring. Unquestionably, all ingrediences would be effected and be subject to some multi-interfusion. The question of how the respective ingrediences or cultural groups react or are effected by such stew mix or multi-cultural setting was salient to this study. In other words, what are the affective contingencies, and the driving and restraining forces generated in an acculturation process between various converging and interacting ethnic-cultural groups that uniquely share a common Church membership on a university campus setting.

Acculturational Conflict

Recent research demonstrates that if two different racial groups are brought together in close association and involvement, the hostility, antagonism, and prejudices often expressed by each toward the other would erode, and favorable attitudes would develop (Robinson and O'Connor, 1974).

The work of Vornberg and Grant (1976) on measuring adolescent cultural acquaintance, experience and ethnic group attitudes found that the experience for American youths living and attending school overseas had significantly positive changes in social distance attitudes towards remote ethnic and racial groups even though the experience presented a difficult adjustment for most subjects.

Where there is mutual interdependence and a reward structure that is cooperatively shared by various groups there should be a reduction of tension between groups (Weigel, Wiser and Cook, 1976;

De Wries and Slavin, 1975). A university setting ideally expects mutual interdependence and students collectively in the pursuit of highly similar academic rewards. If nine diverse cultural groups of a common religion and age range were brought together into a competitively close living association, what accommodation and conflict would emerge between cultural groups?

Subjects: The religious denomination (The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) was a common variable for all subjects in the sample. All subjects were boarding on campus away from home. The nine most dominant cultural groups on the campus were represented in the study.

In attempting to determine the respective cultural groups to which respondents were to be assigned, each respondent was asked to name the cultural or ethnic group which be believed he most closely identified. The classifications listed below were used to select the nine subgroups.

Respondents not fitting into one of the delineated sub-groups were screened out of the cross-cultural sample. The sub-groups were identified by the following descriptions with enrollment percentages by culture.

1. American--Caucasian: The subjects were native English-speaking students, and respresentatives of all regions of the continental United States (30%).
2. Chinese: The subjects were identified as foreign students from Hong Kong and spoke Cantonese as the native language (7%).
3. Japanese: The subjects were identified as foreign students from Japan (2%).

4. New Zealand--Maori: The subjects who identified themselves as New Zealanders claimed greater than one-half Maori (Polynesian) lineage (5%).
5. Tongan: The subjects selected as a Tongan subgroup were foreign students from the Kingdom of Tongan, South Pacific (9%).
6. Samoan: The subjects selected as a Samoan subgroup were foreign students from the Kingdom of Tongan, South Pacific (8%).
7. Fijian: These subjects were from Fiji, South Pacific and claimed a Fijian (Polynesian) ancestry (2%).
8. Hawaiian: The subjects who identified themselves as Hawaiians were native born to the State of Hawaii and claimed greater than one-half Hawaiian lineage (9%).
9. Filipino: The subjects selects as a Filipino subgroups were foreign students and native of the Philippines Islands (5%).
10. Others: The students referred to as others were those assigned to the 24 to 26 cultural groups not cited in the study (22%).

All subjects had completed at least one semester of University credit and members of the freshman class. Cultures were catagorized by regions into: (1) American = Mainland-U.S.A.; (2) Asian = Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino; and (3) Polynesian = New Zealand, Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Fijian and Hawaiia. The Winter, 1981 student comparative is cited in Table 1

BYU--HAWAII CAMPUS*

PERCENT BY LOCATION AND CULTURE

Hawaiian Islands	25%	Hawaiian	9%
South Pacific	25%	Tongan	9%
		Samoan	8%
		Maori	5%
		Fiji	2%
		Tahitian	1%
Orient & Far East	15%	Chinese	7%
		Filipinos	5%
		Japanese	2%
Mainland - USA	30%	'Haole'	30%
Others	5%	Others	22%

*33-35 Cultural Groups Represented Winter Semester 198

Each cultural ethnic group represented in the study included males and females and were selected randomly from freshman level courses.

The BYU--Hawaii campus faculty of 98 members had an ethnic composition of: (1) 70 Caucasian (82%), (2) 9 Hawaiian (9%), (3) 4 Chinese (4%), (4) 3 Japanese (3%), and (5) 2 Tongans (2%).

Method

Data (from 156--1049 students) were collected over a five year period (1976-81) on freshmen students between 17-20 years of age from seven to nine of the most represented cultural groups (American--Caucasian, Chinese, Japanese, New Zealand-Maori, Tongan, Samoan, Fijian, Hawaiian andFilipino) on the Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus. Each ethnic group included males and females selected randomly upon completion of one or two semesters of schooling. Initially, students were administered the Bell Adjustment Inventory Revised student Form (Hostility Scale--revised 1977). The scale was selected because of unique adaptiveness and relatability to a multicultural setting. Furthermore, it is a self-report of the individual's attitudes toward relationships with others as experienced by self and recognizes the importance that feelings have in human transactions.

Freshmen students also completed at different time sequences over a four year period: (a) the IPAT (Institute for Personality and Ability Testing) Depression Scale (1976) and the Eight State Questionnaire, 1975), (b) a force-field analysis identifying driving and restraining forces of acculturation, (c) a Tennessee

Self Image inventory, (d) a trait-check survey of 50 adjective or personality traits to measure inter-ethnic group images (stereotypes) to ellicit students to describe males of each of the listed ethnic group with traits that they felt would most likely be found in all males of that particular culture, (e) questionnaires and ethnic surveys, and (f) individual interviews.

It was hypothesized that acculturative stress would be greater among cultural groups (students) where the gap between traditional and imposed (host) culture was greater. Also, variations in attraction; conflict and depression factors by culture were identified with recommendations made to respective Asian, and Polynesian students or candidates to attend a multicultural American setting as the BYU--Hawaii Campus.

A comparative military population of 109 selected at random from 17-20 year old Caucasian Americans, Hispanic Americans and American Blacks at Schofield Barracks, Hawaii was investigated in a cross-cultural perspective.

To decide whether the magnitude of the differences between cultural group means was sufficiently large to account for significant variance for the Adjustment and Depression inventories, a one-way analysis of variance for randomized designs were calculated. The Scheffe post hoc method of multiple comparisons was calculated to determine significance was adopted for a criterion of rejection of intergroup variance. Each cultural group was compared statistically with every other cultural group in the sample.

Results

Two primary measures were employed to determine the intensity of acculturation conflict, viz. The Bell Hostility Inventory

(1977) and IPAT Depression Inventory (1976). Other measures as a force-field analysis, Tennessee Self Image Inventory, trait-check survey, questionnaires, ethnic survey and interviews were also administered to all subjects.

The mean scores on the hostility inventory scale of the cutural groups are ranked from low to high hostility in the following order: Mainland U.S.A. ($\underline{M}$ = 10.02); Japanese ($\underline{M}$ = 10.80); Hawaiian ($\underline{M}$ = 12.50); Chinese ($\underline{M}$ = 12.78); New Zealand - Maori ($\underline{M}$ = 14.29); Tongan ($\underline{M}$ = 15.28); and Samoan ($\underline{M}$ = 16.05). The Filipino and Fijian populations administered were insufficient in size to be included here. Means above 14.00 for both sexes are scaled as very hostile by Mainland--U.S.A. validation norms (Bell, 1977). The South Pacific cultures (Maori, Tongan, and Samoa) were at this level of significance.

In attempting to analyze the hypothesis that there is no significant quantitative differences in levels of antagonism or hostility expressed between seven divergent cultural groups, Table 2 presents the results of between several cultural group comparisons by means of a one-way analysis of variance.

TABLE 2

ANOVA summary between Ethnic Cultural groups on Hostility Scale

Source	SS	DF	MS	F	P
Total	4406	155			
Between groups	770	6	12833	4.62	
Within groups	4136	149	27.76		*

*P < 0.0235

The results of the Scheffe method showed that the Mainland - U.S.A (mean = 10.02) and the Samoan = 16.05) cultural groups were the only between group comparisons that demonstrated a significant difference (F - 2.25; C. diff = 6.03; P - .05).

The questionnaire administered on hostility provoking stimuli (Table 3) produced a commonality of traits by cultural regions.

TABLE 3

ANNOYING OR IRRITATING TRAITS OBSERVED OF OTHERS OUTSIDE OF OWN ETHNIC CULTURE

Annoying traits of others expressed by culture: In order of intensity (1-10) for combined cultures	Mainland U.S.A	Chinese	Japanese	New Zealand Maori	Tongan	Samoan	Hawaiian
1. Samoan Tongan - Fighting	X	X			X*	X	X
2. Rudeness in Public	X	X*	X*		X	X	X
3. Forsaking own culture	X			X	X	X*	
4. Resentment against Mainland-U.S.A. girls		X			X	X	X
5. Borrowing-stealing	X	X					X
6. Speaking foreign language (including Hawaiian Dialect) instead of English	X*	X		X*			X
7. Apathetic attitude		X	X				X*
8. Skin color prejudice				X			
9. Maori Culture	X				X		X

*Most annoying trait observed in others

English as first language cultures, Mainland - U.S.A. and New Zealanders, identified the most annoying trait on campus was foreign language speaking in mixed cultural groups. Both Chinese and Japanese subjects identified rudeness in public as the most irritating trait. Competitive neighbors in the South Pacific, the Tongan and Samoan subjects had all irritating traits in common.

Consistant with research (Robinson and O'Connor, 1974), when a cultural group (Samoan) rates higher on antagonism and prejudice they would also resist change (forsaking own culture) the most.

The indigenous culture to the State of Hawaii, Hawaiians, identified the greatest range of personal annoyances and irritations of other cultures (foreigners) though the intensity of irritation was lower than most subgroups.

The results of the trait-check survey to measure intergroup images were tabulated by the identification of the five most selected personality traits. The mainland-U.S.A. student's perception of other ethnic members were as follows:

1. Chinese: smart, hard working, respectful, quiet, and clean.
2. Japanese: smart, respectful, quiet, clean and hard-working.
3. New Zealand Maori: talkative, proud, observant, conceited and love of country.
4. Tongans: friendly, happy, powerful, cheerful and generous.
5. Samoans: proud, strong, quick to fight, stubborn and powerful.
6. Hawaiians: happy, friendly, generous, cheerful, and proud.

The forgoing cultures found the Mainland-U.S.A. students as: talkative, cheerful, clean, proud, with good manners.

Self perceptions by culture on barriers to successful acculturation were measured by a force-field analysis instrument. Those restraining variables shared by at least 66 percent of the total number of subjects in each respective culture are cited in Table 4.

TABLE 4

RESTRAINING VARIABLES AGAINST ACCULTURATION: SELF PERCEPTIONS BY CULTURE

Restraining variables: In order of intensity (1-6) for combine cultures	Mainland U.S.A	Chinese	Japanese	New Zealand Maori	Tongan	Samoan	Hawaiian
1. Resisting attitude: to assimilate another culture's behavior and/or values	X*	X				X*	X
2. Lack of English Language skills		X*					X
3. Little desire to learn of other cultures	X					X	X*
4. Pressure from own Ethnic culture: Ethnocentrism	X		X		X*		
5. Prejudice - Stereotyping				X*			X
6. Disrespect for another culture					X	X	

*Greatest restraining variable

The strongest restraining force against successful acculturation on campus as perceived by a combined cultural tallie was a resisting attitude to assimilate another culture's behavior and/or values. Interestingly enough, the two cultural groups (Mainland-U.S.A. and Samoa) that ranked highest in assimilation restraints were the extremes on the Hostility Scale. The Oriental cultures collectively identified English language (verbal and written) as their greatest variable of discrimination. An expressed mutual disrespect for each other's culture was exclusive between Samoans and Tongans.

A statistical response differential of the nine major cultural groups on campus was made on a 16 question survey administered to 1049 student. Following each question are one or two cultural groups ranked by significance.

1. Does it both you if your friend or roomate speaks his/her own language to his/her friends while you are with them?

A. very much	B. Sometimes	C. Not at all
Fijian (M)	Hawaiian (M)	Chinese (M)
Fijian (F)	Hawaiian (F)	Chinese (F)

2. If your roomate or unitmate makes a lot of noise after quiet hours, will you tell them to keep quiet?

A. I Will	B. I Will not	C. I don't care
Samoan (M)	Filipino (M)	Japanese (M)
Samoan (F)	Filipino (F)	Filipino (F)

3. If your friend or unit mate borrows money or something from you for a long period of time and does not return it, will you remind him/her to return the money or thing?

A. I Will	B. I Will Not	I don't care
Fijian (M)	Tongan (M)	Samoan (M)
Maori (F)	Samoan (F)	Tongan (F)
Japanese (F)		

4. How often do you borrow things from your friends?

A. Never	B. Daily	C. Once a Week	D. Once a month
Fijian (M)	Maori (M) Maori (F)	American (M) Maori (F)	Japanese (M) Filipino (F)

5. What would be your response if you are waiting in the cafeteria meal line or any waiting line and someone suddenly cuts in the line?

A. I would get mad	B. Tell him/her to observe the rule	C. I wouldn't care
Japanese (M) Hawaiian (M)	Filipino (F)	Samoan (M) Tongan (F)

6. Do you feel that it is honest for people without meal tickets to eat cafeteria portions of food which have been paid by cafeteria ticket holders? (e.g. a friend lets someone eat his food with him).

A. Dishonest	B. It is all right	C. Undecided
Samoan (M) Tongan (F)	Japanese (M) Chinese (F)	Filipino (M) Filipino (F)

7. Will you be disturbed if someone talks loudly in the library?

A. Very Much	B. A little bit	C. Not at all
Japanese (M) Filipino (F)		Hawaiian (F)

8. Do you feel that the Polynesians can get jobs easier than other cultural groups on campus?

YES	NO
Fijian (F) Chinese (F)	Samoan (M) Tongan (F)

9. Do you feel that teachers show discrimination in favor of students from certain cultural groups?

YES	NO
Samoan (M) Chinese (F)	Tongan (F)

10. When selecting a class to register for, which influences your decision more:

10. When selecting a class to register for, which influences your decision more:

A. The teacher scheduled to teach the class

Samoan (M)
Hawaiian (F)

B. How the class time fits into your schedule

Japanese (M)
Filipino (F)

11. If you feel that you deserve a better grade than the grade you received, will you go and reason with your teacher?

A. Yes

Samoan (M)
Hawaiian (F)

B. No

American (M)
Fijian (F)
Japanese (F)

12. If you had an examination tomorrow that you need to study for but you have to work today, what will you do?

A. Not go to work

Samoan (M)
Tongan (F)

B. Go to work

Filipino (M)
Chinese (M)
Filipino (F)

C. Find an excuse take it later

Samoan (M)
Tongan (M)

13. Which Cultural Group Do you Like the Best. Why?

		3	4		1			2		
CULTURAL GROUP		C	AC	S	H	NZ	T	J	F	FI
CHINESE	M	1	2					3		
	F	1	3		3			2		
AMERICAN CAUCASIAN	M	1	1	1	1		1			
	F		3	2	3	1				
SAMOAN	M	2		1						
	F			1						
HAWAIIAN	M		1					1		
	F		2	2				2		
NEW ZEALANDER	M					1				
	F				1	1				
TONGAN	M				1			1		
	F				2		1			
JAPANESE	M				1			1		
	F						2	1		
FILIPINO	M							1	1	
	F	1			1					
FIJIAN	M				1			1		
	F							1		

14. Which Cultural Group do you have the hardest time accepting. Why?

CULTURAL GROUP		C	AC	S	H	NZ	T	J.	F	FI
CHINESE	M			•						
	F			•						
AMERICAN CAUCASIAN	M			•						
	F			•						
SAMOAN	M	•						•		
	F							•	•	
HAWAIIAN	M			•						
	F			•						
NEW ZEALANDER	M			•						
	F			•						
TONGAN	M									
	F			•						
JAPANESE	M									
	F									
FILIPINO	M									
	F			•						
FIJIAN	M			•						
	F			•						

15. If you had to marry someone other than your own cultural group, which cultural group would you like to Marry into? Why?

		5	1		2	5		0		
CULTURAL GROUP		C	AC	S	H	NZ	T	J.	F	FI
CHINESE	M		1					2		
	F		1					?		
AMERICAN CAUCASIAN	M					1		2		
	F			2	1	1				
SAMOAN	M	2	1		1					
	F			•						1
HAWAIIAN	M		2		1		2			
	F		2		1			?		
NEW ZEALANDER	M	1	1					1		
	F				1					
TONGAN	M	1	1		1					
	F		1		2					
JAPANESE	M		1		2					
	F		1		1				1	
FILIPINO	M									
	F		2		1					
FIJIAN	M									
	F		1							

16. What do you think about intercultural marriage.

A. It is fine for others, but not for me

Filipino (M)
Tongan (F)

B. I do not think it is wrong

Samoan (M)
Filipino (F)

C. I am very interested in marrying other cultural person

Maori (M)
American (F)

D. It is Wrong

Fijian (M)
Chinese (M)
Tongan (F)

Discussion of Hostility Factors

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the research findings that cultures from respective locations (Mainland - U.S.A., Orient, and the South Pacific) cluster together on antagonistic attitudes and restraining forces against successful acculturation. Mainland--U.S.A., subjects with the strongest English language verbal skills had the lowest hostility scores, but the greatest resistance to assimilate another culture as they moved latterly into an American based curriculum. Asian cultures shared an English language discrimination as the strongest restraining variable but from all foreign students they had the most positive attitude toward acculturation. This find further corroborates the research of Jelinek (1977) on pupils' attitudes to the multiracial school and the Asian student.

Polynesian cultures, basically expressed stronger restraining forces against successful acculturation, and the higher hostility

scores, and obtained some of the more hostile intergroup images. The Polynesian cultures represent lower socioeconomic regions and this fact may augment Larsen and Giles's (1976) socio-cultural model for hostile intergroup images. They state that socioeconomic relations are the basis for a socio-cultural model for hostile intergroup images. Depending on whether social relationships are functional to socioeconomic needs, they are reflected either in predatory survival attitudes and behavior or in conformity to normative pressures. Of interest is the fact that almost all Polynesian students must work twenty hours weekly at employment to pay for educational expenses while most of the Mainland--U.S.A. subgroup are financially independent of employment. Though the latter group's stereotype is perceived at talkative, cheerful, clean, proud and good mannered, Semester in Hawaii (Mainland--U.S.) females are highly discriminated group on campus. Their apparent financial independence, verbal precocity in the classroom, and the ease to conform to competitative academic norms; and social sophistication generates at best cross-cultural ambivalence.

Samoans were identified as: (1) significantly higher on the Hostility scale from Mainland--U.S. groups (2) an object of the most annoying trait (Samoan-Tongan fighting) as observed by other cultures; (C) stereotyped as proud, strong, quick to fight, stubborn and powerful; and (4) most resisted assimilation with other cultural groups. The Samoans are most supportive of each other within strong extended family and cultural ties. Social control and discipline for the Samoan culture tends to be direct and overt as exemplified in child development styles employing strong

punitive measures, public exposure or shaming. In a social order so tightly structured it would seem that aggressive feelings would find few avenues of social displacement. Those identified in the study were: (1) physical defense for another Samoan; (2) physical contact in sports or; (3) anything 'downward' in the social sense. With strong cultural pride and cohesiveness, other cultural groups may easily be perceived as 'downward' to some degree. Historically, Tonga ruled over Samoa for several hundred years before a very physical coup reinstated the Samoans to independence. Hostile attitudes by most Samoan students expressed a physical competitive prowl over all South Pacific cultures but most significantly over Tongans. Physical confrontations between Samoans and Tongans, though isolated have resulted in the identification of a most annoying trait on campus by most cultural groups.

The indegenous, Hawaiian cultural group expressed a greater range of annoyances and irritations against other foreign cultures. Local Japanese from the State of Hawaii, outside the sample, were the object of most concern by Hawaiian subjects. Not only general socio-economic differences (Gallimore and Howard, 1968) exist between these cultural lifestyles but also in academic motivational styles in the public schools. Kubany, (1971) reports that Hawaiian students express a greater need for affiliation (friendship attachments) than individual needs for achievement. Gallimore and Howard's (1968) observation was that Hawaiians have (1) preference for personal as opposed to impersonal relationships, but (2) a desire for spacial distance

to be based on the significance attached by Hawaiians to harmonious, conflict-free relationships. These patterns appear in concert with this study. The Hawaiian group demonstrated a lower hostility score, a loving, friendly intergroup image but exhibited the most ambivalence and range of complaints.

It appears that not all acculturation processes in a learning setting lead to a reduction in antagonistic attitudes between cultures. It was observed in lieu of antagonistic attitudes generated when cultures come together, the relatively peaceful interfacing of cultures on campus is most encouraging. The between group traits that facilitate successful acculturation must include a cultural humilimity and positive desire to learn from and be interest in other cultures.

Discussion on Survey

According to the results of the survey, the Fijian group indicated the most insecure feeling. They express lowest tolerance if someone talks in another language in front of them. Cooper and McGaugh (1963) pointed out that man's principle tool for manipulating his social environment is language. The individual uses language in controlling and interacting with his fellowman. If a person does not understand another language, he may feel that he does not belong to that group. He will immediately be unable to communicate and interact. Most of all he may even feel that his friends are plotting to do something against him. Chinese and Hawaiians also expressed insesurity though not as strong as the Fijian group.

Prejudice is not something that one is born with. Social psychologists (Newcomb, Turner and Convers, 1965) have pointed out that prejudice is an attitude that is learned through the process of interacting with members of one's group. Chinese females and Samoan males demonstrated (Questions 8, 9, 13, 14, and 15) the strongest trend toward prejudice against other cultural groups. Both highly esteem their own culture. The Chinese females' prejudice seems to be derived from being cross-culturally offended as indicated by a low tolerance for particular Samoan male behaviors on campus. Samoan females identified themselves with cultures while Samoan males significantly prefer their own culture. A significant and similar cultural primacy was indicated by Chinese males and females. Most cultural groups perceived the 'friendly' and affluent American Caucasian as the most preferred group to inter-culturally marry. Generally, the survey conspicuously found that Chinese and Samoans have the most difficulty in getting along. It is believed that these two cultural life styles are at the greatest extremes from each other. Physical appearance can be one of the salient reasons which influences preferences. For example, one Samoan student expressed that he did not like Chinese girls because their legs were too skinny. Psychoculturally Chinese tend to control and somatize their emotional difficulties and look upon any loud, physical, explosive, uncontrolled behavior in public as most offensive, to which they highly ascribed to the Samoan group. Question two, five, and seven reveal that the Chinese and Japanese are very rule-oriented people. They tend to observe the written rules and unwritten rules and

expect others to do likewise. If people are not observing the rules, they will get made very quickly. Many Japanese students expressed disillusionment after initially arrival on campus to witness a more liberal approach in standards of 'Gospel Living' comparative to their experiences in Japan and higher Zion expectations of the Church institution in Hawaii. The Tongan and Filipino males are quite the opposite. The survey profile exhibited high people orientation, and less concern about keeping the rules. They expressed high tolerance if people cut in line, or talk loudly after quiet hours or in the library. Any cultural label of being 'carefree' may at best be pejorative.

Values can be divided into many aspects such as educational values, moral values, religious values, property values and so forth. Question six reflect the moral value of "don't waste but get most out of what you paid for" is most indicative of the Chinese and Japanese cultures. Questions three, four, ten, eleven and twelve pertain to material values and education values. Except for Tongans, every culture seriously esteems material values. The majority of them will remind their friends to return borrowed money or materials. In education, all the groups will go to their teacher and ask for a better grade if they fell that they deserve it, but not the Japanese who identified high subservience to authority. Most Tongan and Samoan students will not go to work if they have a difficult examination immediately pending that they meant to study for.

Since culture is something that is not easy to understand, intercultural marriage is a perplexing decision to make. In

the survey, the majority of students do not think it is wrong though only a relative few expressed personal interest in marrying outside their own culture. Highest on the list of those who approved of intercultural marriage felt that if they really loved the other culture person they would not care about his culture.

The above analysis is just a brief interpretation and of the results of the survey. Since the survey covers a broad area and involves a large population of student from many cultural groups, it is difficult to come clear conclusions. Further research and validation is recommended.

Discussion-Depression Scale and Interviews

It is interesting that Beck and Young (1978) state that 78 percent of the students enrolled in American colleges may suffer some symptoms of depression during a nine month academic period. They found that depression was triggered by traditional student pressures--including failure to meet personal academic standards, the 'competitive edge', the need to define goals for life and career, and the lack of support systems to fend off perceived loneliness. All these pressures appeared to be shared by all cultural groups though in different degrees of intensity. Asian students seemed to be most concerned about academics where Polynesians and Mainland Caucasians were more concerned with people problems and being homesick. The mean grade-point-averages by cultural groups further reflects the competitive edge for Hong Kong Chinese. Chart 8 identifies Mean GPA's for all groups represented in the study.

TABLE 8

MEAN GRADE POINT AVERAGE BY CULTURAL GROUPS

	GPA	SD
HAWAIIAN		
A. KAUAI	2.40	.37
B. MOLOKAI	2.46	.85
C. MAUI	2.74	.62
D. HAWAII	2.57	.73
E. OAHU	2.75	.68
TONGAN	2.54	.61
SAMOAN		
A. WESTERN	2.45	.55
B. AMERICAN	2.57	.38
MAORI	2.70	.68
FIJIAN	2.44	.70
CHINESE		
A. HONG KONG	3.44	.37
B. TAIWAN	2.80	.41
C. SINGAPORE	3.32	.42
JAPANESE	2.97	.05
FILIPINO	2.85	.05
THAI	3.24	.35
AMERICAN--CAUCASIAN		
A. EASTERN U.S.	2.92	.81
B. CENTRAL U.S.	3.16	.42
C. MIDWEST U.S.	2.96	.73
D. MOUNTAIN U.S.	3.09	.63
E. UTAH	3.14	.58
F. WEST COAST U.S.	2.91	.71
BYU--HAWAII CAMPUS	2.82	

These same Chinese, though, felt the most 'exclusion' and unlove in this multi-cultural educational setting.

To the contrary, the Japanese perceived themselves most unexclusive from the campus population. Of further interest was the host, Hawaiian Culture. The Hawaiians by 450 percent of the sample felt unliked by other cultures. They also expressed the widest range of complaints which may be reflective of a lower tolerance for cultural diversity.

The IPAT Depression scale by and large exhibited a high average trend for most cultural groups.

TABLE 9

CULTURAL COMPARATIVE ON

IPAT* DEPRESSION SCALE

STEN	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	MEAN SCORE
		7	8-11	12-15	16-21	22-28	29-35	36-43	44-49	50-80	
COLLEGE-STUDENTS NORMS--IPAT						X					23.25
BYU--HC						X					23.92
MAINLAND--USA					X						19.44
N.Z. MAORI					X						19.17
SAMOAN						X					27.42
TONGAN							X				33.41
FIJIAN						X					27.20
HAWAIIAN						X					25.95
FILIPINO						X					24.20
JAPANESE						X					24.50
CHINESE						X					28.90
U.S. ARMY SCHOFIELD						X					23.54
CAUC.-AMERICAN						X					22.42
BLACK AMERICAN						X					25.83
SPANISH AMERICAN						X					24.53

*IPAT _ INSTITUTE FOR PERSONALITY AND ABILITY TESTING

The comparative military group somewhat eclypsed the BYU--Hawaii Campus profile. One would assume that the group that has the greatest difficulty in accommodation and acculturation would have higher depression scores. The Blacks, within the average range, were higher than Hispanic American who in turn were

higher than the Caucasian group.

The BYU--Hawaii Mainland caucasians with the New Zealand Maori group appear less depressed than all other groups. This trend is more substantive as one further identifies their English language acquisition advantage, viz., it generally indicates that the better the English language acquisition among a cultural group the lower the depression scores.

Of all the stress factors in the acculturative process, English language proficiency or its deficiency appears to be most critical. Feelings of being understood are juxtaposed with feelings of acceptance and appreciation. The antithesis is self doubt, confusion, with frustration and anxious depression. The antithesis is self doubt, confusion and frustration with anxious depression the more profound result. A student's self-image is highly influenced by verbal and non-verbal feedback from others and compounded by the instructor's inept primacy exclusivesness on English language skills in the classroom. Those instructors who identify broken English with ignorance and lack a second language proficiency themselves appear consciously or unconsciously most invidious toward the multi-lingual student.

The New Zealand Maori group with excellent English language skills exemplified strong self images and perceived Hawaii as an adventure without imposed competitive, academic rigors or strong expectations upon returning to their own country.

If acculturative conflict also correlates highly with depression than one would expect that the depression would be greater among cultural groups where the gap between traditional and the imposed (host) culture was greatest. One therefore

would expect the South Pacific cultures as Tongans, Samoans and Fijians to be the recipients of greater depression. The research supported this hypothesis with the Tongan group manifesting the greater degree of expressed depression. Much can be expressed about the unique cultural styles of Tongans and Samoans but it may be well to summarize here part of the psychocultural profile both these groups share.

Without question, an American educational setting poses a less structured, more self directive and permissive setting than either Samoans or Tongans are encultured in. Their typical families have taught them, even by heavy punitive means, strict obedience to parents, elders and authority figures. As youths they were encouraged to go to school to learn as much as they could and then return to help support other family members, including extended family member who need it. With strong family ties one is expected to prove his love by staying supportively close to his family. Going away to school can provoke confusion and anxiety out of the fear of not directly helping one's parents. Sacrificing parents with health problems and poor living conditions makes the student most vulnerable to feelings of helplessness, uselessness, ungratefulness and selfishness. The greatest fear expressed was one of loosing parents while away at school. This separation would utterly shatter the basic purpose of going away to school. Interviews identified for both tongans and Samoans four reactions to feelings of depression: (1) not studying; (2) excessive sleeping; (3) much time with sports and the concreteness of body building; and (4) talk story (hours spend in irrelevant

joking and light conversation) with own cultural group. To the contrary, if Chinese students were experiencing stress due to academic deficiencies, they would stoically commit to more study time and less social activity.

Personality Factors

The Eight State Questionnaire (8SQ) was used to assess a cultural group's emotional reactions to different environment conditions or changes in environmental conditions. This instrument was designed specifically for measuring eight emotional states and moods (anxiety, stress, depression, regression, fatigue, guilt, extraversion and arousal), (Cattell, 1972; Barton, Cattell, & Conner, 1972; Barton, Cattell $ Curran, 1973). Between group comparisons were made by means of a one-way analysis of variance and a Scheffe post hoc procedure to measure signficance at the .05 level. Significance was found (0.05) only on one state (regression) where high mean scores for Samoans differed from the Hawaiian group.

High regression scores infer that students from the Samoan cultural group are more confused, unorganized, unable to concentrate, experiencing difficulty coping and acting impulsively. The same pair, viz. Samoans and Hawaiians were significantly different at the o.10 level on depression. This indicates that the Samoan students are most unhappy, disagreeable, pessimistic, in poor spirits and disappointed where as Hawaiians were most opposite of all cultural groups represented. Table [illegible] provides a comparative of the five dominant cultural groups on campus. From the Eight State inventory, the Samoan group obtained highest means on five (anxiety, depression, regression, fatigue and

TABLE 10

A Mean and Standard Deviation Comparative of Five Cultural Groups by States From the Eight State Questionnaire (8SQ)

		ANXIETY	STRESS	DEPRESSION	REGRESSION	FATIQUE	GUILT	EXTRA-VERSION	AROUSAL
CHINESE	M	14.00	16.22	12.83	13.78	18.17	14.39	16.78	16.94
	SD	4.13	4.62	4.63	5.11	6.25	5.19	4.68	4.47
CAUCASIAN	M	10.27	13.69	10.42	11.85	14.04	11.23	20.96	20.23
	SD	5.41	4.64	5.31	4.81	6.28	6.21	5.65	5.71
HAWAIIAN	M	10.20	12.93	9.60*	11.27**	13.27	10.40	22.20	21.13
	SD	7.12	5.99	5.01	6.68	10.33	7.52	8.05	9.75
TONGAN	M	14.60	17.00	14.90	15.90	16.10	15.90	16.50	16.50
	SD	7.71	5.18	7.08	6.81	5.38	9.19	5.06	4.79
SAMOAN	M	15.27	15.73	15.45*	18.91**	19.36	16.82	17.18	16.27
	SD	6.05	3.98	3.21	6.46	6.42	7.56	7.53	7.44
TOTAL POPULATION	M	12.32	14.81	12.06	13.65	15.81	13.14	19.17	18.65
	SD	6.17	5.01	5.46	6.17	7.32	7.12	6.48	6.72
8SQ NORM	M	10.7	13.2	11.2	11.7	15.5	12.9	22.4	21.0
	SD	7.1	4.7	7.5	5.9	8.1	6.4	7.3	8.3

* $P < 0.10$

** $P < 0.05$

and guilt) and lowest on Arousal. High Arousal (Hawaiians) was defined as alert, keyed up, excited, stimulated, keen and sharp senses. The wide variance between Samoan and Hawaiian groups supports the hypothesis that acculturative stress would be greater among cultural groups where the gap between traditonal and imposed (host) culture was greatest. Additional insight with Samoan students and personality factors was delineated from profiles obtained on the Tennessee Self Image Inventory. Six factors (Physical Self, Moral-Ethical Self, Personal Self Family Self, Social Self and Self Criticism) to identify how an individual perceives himself were administered to each group in the study. Cross-culture comparative identified significance only on the Moral-Ethical Self Scale with the Samoan Group obtaining the lower scores but obtained highest scores on Family Self and Social Self Scales.

Vividly, Samoans and Tongans expressed considerable apprehension and sensitivity in not being able to expressed themselves in good English. This perceived skill deficiency compounds itself with lower achievement, higher affiliation needs, and some of the lowest mean grade point averages on campus. Higher depression and stress scores appear to be natural bedfellows.

Comparatively, the Chinese group depression score may reflect psychocultural expectations and some conflict with other cultures on campus. Overall, the Chinese group perceived themself coming from strong, traditional families where elders and ancestors are viewed with great reverence. Emphasis is placed on (1) obtaining a good education (high achievement),

(2) obedience to parents, and (3) giving the family a good name. Interviews revealed that they are taught to live up to a role of detachment, self control and be somewhat deferent. An example of deferent would be the postponement of marriage until education and job security. Verbal scolding with the exclusion of physical punishment, was the most common expressed means of child development for the Chinese. When a younger person failed to live up to an elder's expectations, then self-blame was the result. Educational achievement was consistently valued above other types of achievement as reflected in the highest mean GPA on campus.

The Chinese in the study perceived themselves as being civilized and intellectural. Their socialization has taught them to hold back their temper and emotions. Boisterous laughing, crying in front of people and yelling out loud are seen as expresions of ignorance and stupidity. The 'real man' in the Chinese culture is not often one of great muscular strength, as one that is scholarly, intellectual, with an ability to stay calm under pressure and one that abstains from the use of force. Athletes were not perceived as idols except where they were very skillful and scholarly as well. To the Chinese, the brain always should rule over the muscle. Scholars and business-men were identified as individuals normally in control of the system rather than individuals of great strength.

In sports, the Chinese attempt to be very skillful. Table tennis was perceived as a favorite where muscular strength is not a major determinant to winning. American football and rugby were perceived as barbaric to most Chinese students. They love

soccer, but admit that they have never been very good at it as a culture. The more probable explanation given was that Chinese get too caught up in displaying personal skills--dribbling, passing, scoring and footwork. They often lack the togetherness, team spirit, speed, aggressive behavior and determination to win that are critical factors in competitive sports.

On the other end of campus cultural continuum, the Samoans, also play soccer. In sports, they are perceived as very aggressive, determinant with strong desires to win. They exhibit more concern for team work over the display of personal skills. They play rough which is self-perceived as a sign of heroism. The outcomes of almost all matches between Samoans and Chinese will result in physical assaults against the Chinese if the latter are winning. Samoans verbalized that they cannot accept the idea of loosing to "a bunch of tiny, skinny fellows." As long as the Samoans are winning, then, the game continues in relative sportmanship. Chinese view common Samoan traits as boisterous laughing, yelling out loud and the masculine showing of emotions in public as extremely poor taste, if not vulgar. The Chinese perceive that Samoans may view them as weak and cowardice. Their refraining from temper and the use of force may give the Samoans the wrong signal that they are vulnerable and can be pushed around. Chinese indignation is most acute by the very clash in cultural, masculine roles and values with the Samoans.

Samoans Dilemma

In the research assessment of all cultural groups on campus, Samoan students were most traditionally 'foreign' to an American

based educational system and most significantly juxtaposed with emotional states of anxiety, depression, regression, fatigue, guilt and overt aggressiveness (acculturative stress). This 'to-be-or-not-to-be' dilemma toward successful acculturation may be understood as a culture most bound to preserve a traditional status quo (Fa'a Samoa) over a highly economic, individualistic, achievement oriented western culture. Acculturation for Samoan students simulates less a process of marginal biculturalism but more of compartmentalization, viz. the individual adoption of some western ways at the expense of strong, binding, social-cultural controls. This study identified the following predisposing factors for acculturative stress for the Samoan student.

(1) English language proficiency clearly poses a most formidable barrier.

(2) American economics or the taste for "tala."
The present level of per capita incomes and commodities (especially Western Samoa) are appreciably lower than in Hawaii. Money sent home per student was highest among the Samoan 'sharing' cultural group. Attempts for Samoa students to acquire various luxuries of the host American culture, as a radio, stereo or car, were highly frustrated by sharing demands from their own cultural community.

(3) Alienation from the extended family (aiga).
Youths are encouraged to attend higher education to learn as much as they would and then help support other family members including extended family members who

request it. The fear of returning to Samoa upon graduation with possible escalated demands from extended family members was second only to the fear of not directly helping one's immediate family. With education and independence away from the 'Matai' (chiefly, executive order of social, judicial and ceremonial functions), the student faced a conflict in value systems. Apprehension was expressed over the possible loss of a parent or parents before return. This would significantly defeat the purpose of going away from home. If Samoan students had their druthers, they would stay with parents and locally attend an institution of higher learning.

(4) The strong orientation and responsiveness to the cultural group's will and a willingness to establish holistic interpersonal commitments emphasizing sharing and cooperation appear to be incongruous to ambitious, self directive, achievement strategies for the Samoan student.

(5) Diet. The transition from breadfruit, taro, bananas and tapioca to rice, potatoes and bread with greater intake of refined foods, sugars, salts, additives, etc. was acute. Research needs to be developed in the area.

(6) Time. To the Samoan student, time and motion is more fluid and less relevant as to what he experiences in Hawaii. As a University student he is expected to take initiative, daily plan and schedule, attend classes, keep appointments and assignments and punch in and out on employment, etc. All this conceptually poses considerable adjustments.

(7) The Campus Climate

Fa'a Samoa teaches strong family and group participation, cooperation, interaction and sharing through external social constraints whereas the American University setting in Hawaii focuses on individualism, self-initiative, competition and evaluation in a more permissive and modernistic setting. Boy - girl relationships and dating practices are critically at variance from Fa'a Samoa where holding hands and kissing in public are atypical With liberal dress standards and entertainment further strategies for coping are added pressures. To see females in shorts, T--shirts and jeans and not dressed up in white on Sunday is heretic. The relationship between social and personal control is of considerable significance for understanding behavioral and psychological responses to acculturation in an academic campus setting where traditional social controls are inoperative or limited in their effectiveness. Acculturative awkwardness and stress is further compounded by a back-wash of criticism, stereotypes and misunderstandings from other cultural groups. Negative stereotypes appear to further frustrate successful acculturation by eliciting aggressive reactions and inclinations by some Samoan students to dominate others. But clearly, the influence of a multi-cultural, church membership on campus is one of the most uniting factors to be realized and should not be overlooked in spite of cultural variance.

Unquestionably, acute acculturative stress affects participation in Church activity. Samoan males students were identified with both the lowest church attendance records and participation in leadership positions among Polynesian and Asian groups.

TABLE 11

BRIGHAM YOUNG UNIVERSITY--HAWAII CAMPUS

PRIESTHOOD LEADERSHIP ACTIVITY BY CULTURAL STUDENT GROUPS--WINTER, 1981

CULTURAL GROUP	% OF RESPECTIVE CULTURE SERVING IN PRIESTHOOD LEADERSHIP POSITION		
HAWAII	6%	EAST ASIA	
SOUTH PACIFIC		HONG KONG	17%
AUSTRALIA	33%	JAPAN	11%
FIJI	30%	KOREA	14%
NEW ZEALAND	19%	PHILIPPINES	16%
SAMOA	9%	SINGAPORE	19%
TAHITI	12%	TAIWAN	14%
TONGA	17%	MAINLAND	6%

The process of adjusting to students from many cultures is manifestly more difficult than attempting to adjust only to a single culture. Cross-cultural dissonance is compounded for Samoan students especially by Tongan nationalistic animosities and Chinese cultural offendedness. Resentments become mutually pejorative. Paradoxically, other cultures in the study perceived Samoan deportment most overtly proud and boastful. With many desperate, oblique and markedly different culture specific manifestations, Samoan students clearly experience

the more acute barriers of acculturation on the Brigham Young University--Hawaii Campus.

Summary

1. The hypothesis that acculturative stress would be greater among cultural groups (students) where the gap between traditional and imposed (host) culture is significant was founded by this study. Acculturative stress was found lowest greater among Samoan students.
2. In a multicultural setting, acculturative stress also occurs between accommodating non-host cultures that greatly differ in cultural styles, viz. Samoans versus Chinese.
3. English language usage imposed the greatest discrimination barrier to all non-American cultures. Depression scores were inversely correlated to English language acquisition.
4. Appropriate approaches to minimize acculturative stress on a multi-cultural campus were identified as:
   a. to establish competent levels of English language proficiency as a criterion for admission.
   b. to provide multi-cultural orientations to entering students.
   c. to provide an educational experience that fosters unique sensitivity and assistance to cultural identities and inherent difficulties of passage and transition.
   d. to organize student groups or clubs that each represent a mosaic of cultures. Organized family groups of between 20 - 30 multi-culture members on the BYU-Hawaii Campus were identified as the greatest definitive means, next to a common religion, of breaking down cultural barriers and

developing understanding between cultures through an emphases on similarities and a respect for differences.

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